288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware ● 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism" [10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

[286]

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— In lieu of The death PENALTY

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

Feudal Japan AB 9

indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.[34] Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.[35] While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.[a] The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku;* brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.[36] This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo[37]

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[34] In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

[35] Ichi en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

[a] "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

[36] Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese coins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [Martes Melampos] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

[37] A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called Ōtsuku type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the Southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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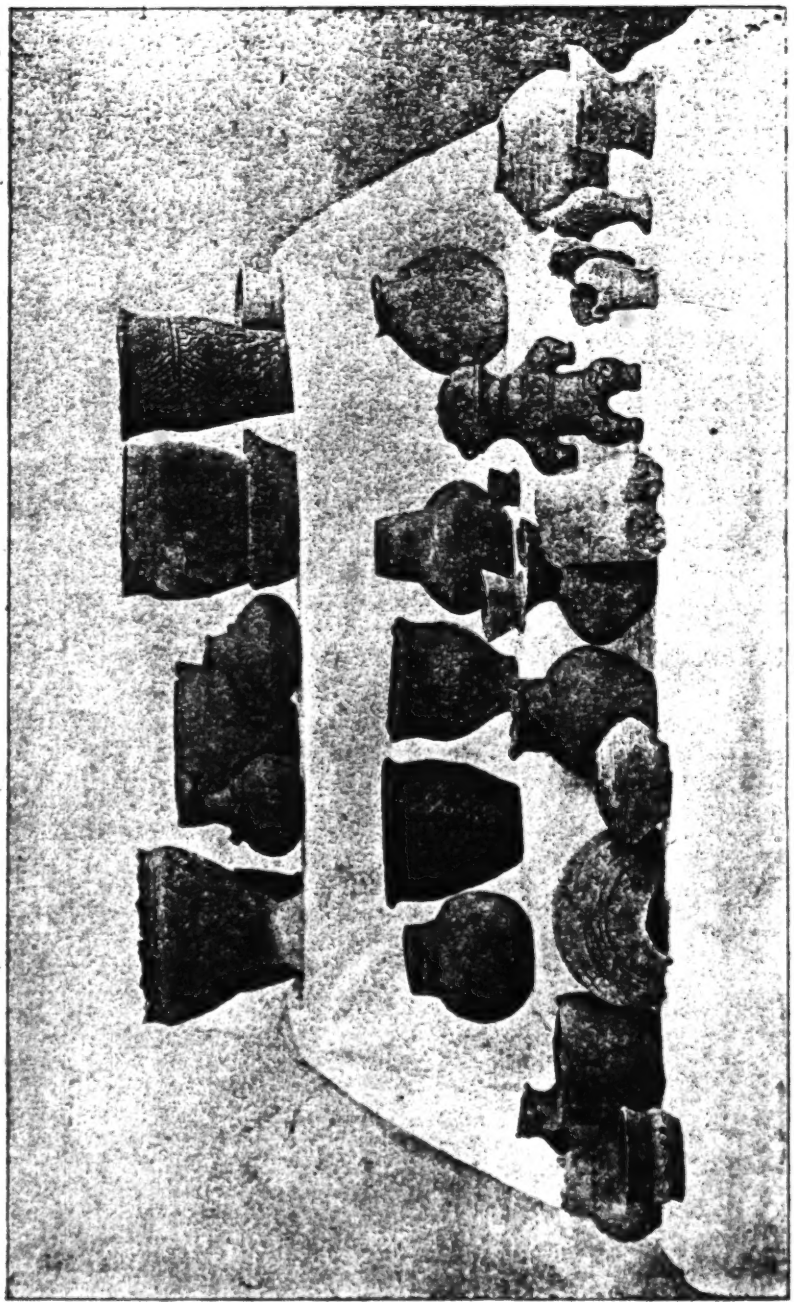

ANCIENT POTTERY FROM M. L'ABBÉ FURET COLLECTION.

[Facing p. 436]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting collection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are descendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"[1] but they know nothing of their history.

One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood, though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?

KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

[1] *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*numa*."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
● 323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

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[113]

1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
G 321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
K 323 415 [113]

2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K [172] Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K
[113]

3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., P. 184.

G /451 cont./
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192

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag
in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchā River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however.
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[648]
Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

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/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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[262]

The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists